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INTRODUCTION

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Introduction: communicative dynamism

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This issue on Communicative Dynamism brings together contributions investigating various dimensions of what is most commonly called information structure. In terms of theoretical affiliation, all contributors have their roots in the Hallidayan functional tradition, whose indebtedness to Prague School linguistics is well-established (e.g., Halliday 1974; Davidse 1987). By choosing the term Communicative Dynamism coined by Czech linguist Jan Firbas as the theme of the issue, we pay tribute to the pioneering role played by the Prague School and to the lasting modernity and relevance of their work. In this introduction, we first outline the theoretical notions and descriptive distinctions proposed by the Prague School that are relevant to this issue (Section 1). In Section 3, we discuss the various dimensions of information structure and communicative dynamism addressed in the contributions. In tackling specific theoretical and descriptive issues, the contributions incorporate elements not only from Hallidayan and Prague School functionalism but also from other traditions such as Cognitive Grammar, which we cover in Section 2. This eclectic functionalism is in accordance with Vilém Mathesius' adage "Language is a fortress that must be assailed from all sides and with every kind of weapon" (Chovanec 2014, 6), which Jan Firbas loved to cite (Firbas 1992b, 167).

1. Prague school functionalism

There is no doubt that modern functionalism was born in the Linguistic Circle of Prague in the 1920s. The Prague School was founded in 1926 by Vilém Mathesius,[1] who was the principal initiator of its theory-formation and its innovative functional-structural studies. Following de Saussure,

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[1]When the Linguistic Circle of Copenhagen was founded in 1931 by Hjelmslev and Brøndal, the inspiration came obviously from the Prague Linguistic Circle, as shown e.g., by the title of the *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague* (*TCLC*) which was a calque of *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* (*TCLP*).

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Mathesius (1929a) distinguished between *langue* and *parole*, the abstract system of language and language experience. Mathesius held that linguistic investigation has to constantly shunt between "language, having an ideal reality only" and "speech, which is immediately given" (Mathesius 1936, 97–98). This led Skalička (1948) to develop a "linguistics of parole" and Daneš (1964) a "theory of utterance" at a time when the primacy of abstract grammatical structures was being asserted, amongst others, in Bloomfieldian structuralism and early Transformational Grammar. Most crucially, Mathesius (1929b) added the functional dimension (*funkční lingvistika*) to Saussure's structuralism. Mathesius' primary functional postulate was to take the natural setting of communication systematically into account, both the speaker's and the hearer's side (Daneš 1987, 6).

Within these general theoretical contours, the Prague School developed a theory of 'functional syntax', in which different levels of structure were distinguished. Mathesius "started from the distinction between the 'sentence' as a grammatical (and semantic) structure and the actual use of this structure, its functioning, in an act of speech in the capacity of an utterance (enunciation, message, communication)" (Daneš 1987, 24). In his study of the utterance, Mathesius (1929c) put its organization in terms of the communicative effect intended by the speaker high on the agenda of functional linguistics.[2] According to Daneš (1987), Mathesius set out the two main dimensions involved in the organization of the utterance as a message. Firstly, the utterance divides into the theme, what the speaker is talking about, and the rheme, the enunciation proper. In the second place, the utterance is organized into information that is presumed known to the hearer and information that is new to the hearer. To refer to this level of structure, Mathesius coined the term *aktuální členění větné*, for which Vachek (1966) suggested the English equivalent Functional Sentence Perspective (Firbas 1992b, 167). However, as noted by Firbas (1994), in this translation one loses the specific meaning of *aktuální*, which evokes, like German *aktuell*, the idea of 'current, ongoing'. *Aktuální členění větné* refers to the perspectivizing choices made in the 'currently ongoing' utterance. It is this element that Firbas foregrounds with his concept of Communicative Dynamism.

Firbas (1964, 1966, 1968, 1992a, 1992b) became the Prague School's leading scholar in the development of a cross-linguistically applicable model for analysing Communicative Dynamism (CD). Firbas (1992a, 15f),

[2]As pointed out by Etzensperger (2018, 55), the concepts of Thema and Rhema were, in fact, first introduced by Ammann (1911), who proposed them as substitutes for the notions of the psychological subject and the psychological predicate introduced by von der Gabelentz (1869). Ammann (1928) stressed that a sentence is primarily a message, which, by its nature, consists of two parts, "etwas … wovon die Rede ist … und … etwas … was davon gesagt wird" (Ammann 1928, 2, as quoted in von Heusinger 2002, 285), i.e., 'something that is being talked about and something that is said about it'. Amman borrowed the term Rhema from the Greek grammatical tradition, where *ῥῆμα* refers to 'thing said' (von Heusinger 2002, 285). Amman then linked Rhema to Thema, which he defined as *der Gegenstand der Mitteilung* 'the subject-matter of the communication' (Ammann 1928, 3), as reported by Etzensperger (2018, 55).

like Daneš (1968), sees the sentence as a field of meaningful syntactic relations, which is made operative when it is converted into a contextualized utterance. Firbas re-conceptualized the distinction between theme and rheme and given and new information into a more fine-grained scale. This scale reflects the different degrees in which sentence elements contribute to the completion of the communication. The elements that push the communication forward most have the highest degree of CD. They are rhematic elements. The elements that contribute least to the completion of the message are lowest in CD. These are thematic elements.[3] Theme and Rheme are linked by the Transition. The different degrees of CD result from the interplay not only of *word order* and *intonation*, which are associated with information structure in most frameworks, but also of *context dependence* and *semantic function*, which we focus on in the following paragraphs.

The *context dependence* of sentence elements hinges mainly on their retrievability or irretrievability from the immediately relevant verbal or situational context and is as such "irrespective of the actual linear arrangement" (Firbas 1992a, 40). Firbas stresses that "even context-dependent elements differ in the extent to which they contribute to the further development of the communication. … The more firmly an element is established in the immediately relevant context, the lower is the degree of CD carried by it" (1992a, 40). Moreover, elements may be *presented* as context dependent, when objectively they are not. This is the case, for instance, when a narrative opens *in medias res* (1992a, 40). Additionally, in speech, there may be correspondence or non-correspondence between the non-prosodic distribution of CD and the distribution of *prosodic* prominence (Firbas 1992a, ch. 8). For instance, the meaning of a pronoun is retrievable from the context, which entails that in terms of context-dependence it carries a low degree of CD. However, intonation can re-perspectivize the CD-distribution, and mark the pronoun as carrying the highest degree of CD (Firbas 1992a, 160), by making it the prosodically most prominent element (marked by small capitals), as in (1).

(1) THAT's a laugh. (Firbas 1992a, 161)

According to Firbas (1992a, 5, 67), the semantics of the sentence determine the different degrees of CD through the perspectivizing effect of two *dynamic semantic* scales: the Presentation Scale and the Quality Scale.[4] The Presentation Scale starts communicatively with the Setting-Theme, and is oriented towards presenting the Phenomenon-Rheme, as illustrated in (2).

[3]Note that Firbas's definition of Theme lacks the 'aboutness' feature that we find in the well-known definitions of topic (e.g., Lambrecht 1994) and Theme (e.g., Halliday 1985). If we apply Fries's (1981, 117) distinction between separating and combining approaches to theme and rheme and given and new, then Firbas's theory of communicative dynamism is the most combining in the literature, and is, arguably, basically a scale of given – new information.

[4]As noted in Davidse and Joseph (2000, 275), this is an original feature of Firbas's theory of CD, which is absent from other theories of information structure.

The dynamic semantic scales reflect the interpretative, not the actual linear arrangement (Firbas 1992a, 67). In (3), context-independent *a strong wind*, is, despite being initial, the Phenomenon-Rheme. The Quality Scale starts communicatively with the Quality Bearer-Theme and moves over the Transition to the Quality-Rheme, as in (4).

(2)	It	blows	a storm. (WB)[5]
	Setting-Theme	Transition	Phenomenon-Rheme
(3)	A strong wind	is blowing	across the summit. (WB)
	Phenomenon-Rheme	Transition	Setting-Theme
(4)	She	works	in the World Financial Center. (WB)
	Quality Bearer-Theme	Transition	Quality-Rheme

It is our conviction that neither the Prague School's work on Functional Sentence Perspective, nor the theory-formation of the Prague School in general, has received the credit and attention they deserve. In this context, it is instructive to read Daneš's (1987) interpretation of the influence the Prague School's work on FSP had on Chomsky's evolving positions about information structure:

> Such terms as *topic* and *comment*, … appeared for the first time, marginally, in Chomsky's "Aspects of the Theory of Syntax" …… it seemed to me appropriate to draw Chomsky's attention to the theory of FSP … My main idea was that since the topic-comment structure will be systematically signalled by means of the placement of the intonation centre (and by the word order), it appears evident that this kind of semantic information is directly connected with the "surface structure". … So, I asked Chomsky in a letter (February 1966) whether … the whole scheme of the "standard theory" of generative description needs to be reconstructed. But in his reply (May 1966) Chomsky maintained … that he did not see the necessity to revise the scheme suggested in "Aspects". … Nevertheless, further investigation … first published in 1969, persuaded him to revise his standpoint of 1966. He suggested and elaborated the notions of "presupposition" and "focus" (roughly corresponding to the "known" and "new" pieces of information …) and arrived finally at the following … conclusion … :
>
> we see that there is no reason at all why properties of surface should not play a role in determining semantic interpretation, and the considerations brought forward suggest that in fact they do play such a role.
>
> (But the suggestive writings of the Prague scholars are missing from the bibliography.) (Daneš 1987, 25–26)

The impact of Firbas's work on the contributions to this issue lies not so much in strict application of his analytical framework as in recognition of his general insights. Firbas's best known contribution is, of course, his insight in

[5]Following each cited example its source is indicated between brackets: literature reference or corpus. (WB) refers to the WordbanksOnline corpus, (WB BrSpoken) to the subcorpus of spoken British English, and (LLC) to the London Lund Corpus.

the scalar and dynamic nature of the elements contributing to the completion of the message. However, equally inspiring is Firbas's sustained descriptive effort to account for the CD distribution of an utterance as resulting from the combination of the contextual retrievability of the elements, their semantic function in the clause and the distribution of prosodic prominence. Importantly, Firbas (1992a, 3–13) stressed the language specificity of patterns of CD, as the Prague School did generally with Mathesius's (1964) notion of the different 'characterologies' of individual languages. In Section 3 of this Introduction, we will summarize the theoretical debates and descriptive questions that the studies in this thematic issue contribute to. However, before we do this, it is necessary to outline the theoretical and descriptive background to these studies.

2. Theoretical and descriptive functional background

All contributors to this issue subscribe to what Halliday (1974, 1994) has called the 'metafunctional' tenet. Three general types of functional meaning, ideational, interpersonal and textual, are claimed to organize the language system as well as the utterances. Halliday (1974) linked the first two metafunctions to Bühler's (1934) three functions of language, i.e., representation, expression and appeal. The ideational metafunction is motivated by the representational function of language, and the interpersonal metafunction by both the (speaker-oriented) expression function and the (hearer-oriented) appeal function. The textual metafunction is concerned with the contextualization of linguistic units, making them operative in their co-text and context of situation. From each derives a distinct layer of organization of the clause, 'naturally' coded by language-specific phonological and lexicogrammatical 'content-form'[6] (Hjelmslev [1943] 1961). As a result, the organization of the utterance forms "a composite pattern" as in "polyphonic music" (Kress 1976, xix). The descriptive consequences of the metafunctional tenet were developed in some detail by Halliday for English only.

At the level of the clause, the *ideational* metafunction is concerned with representing processes in the world and in our consciousness and the participants in them. *Process-participant configurations* correspond roughly to verb-argument structures in other frameworks.

The *interpersonal* metafunction moulds these representations into *interacts* by constructing the speaker and hearer's roles in the verbal interaction, which in English is done by the moods and by further modulating these roles by prosodic choices (Halliday 1970, 360). For instance, with a congruently used declarative, the speaker assumes the general role of declarer, which is

[6]See Davidse and Ghesquière (2016) on Halliday's interpretation of Hjelmslev's ([1943] 1961) view of the linguistic sign.

modulated by intonation into more delicate speech roles "such as those of giving information and expressing opinion … In taking on one such role the speaker also defines the range of options for the hearer: assent to or contradiction of the opinion; acknowledgment, dismissal, or claiming prior knowledge of the information; and so on" (Halliday 1970, 325). For the declarative, the neutral, unmarked prosodic option is a falling tone, whereas more marked options are the choice of fall-rise (reserved), level or low rise (uninvolved), rise-fall (involved) and high rise (contradictory) (Halliday 1976, 105).

The *textual* metafunction maps onto ideational and interpersonal structure "thematic and information structure to produce an astonishing variety of rhetorical effects" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 93). The textual metafunction also subsumes the whole area of cohesion (Halliday and Hasan 1976), from which the system of 'reference' is most relevant to the analysis of Theme-Rheme and Given-New organization.

Unlike the Prague School, Halliday does not posit any inherent relation between Theme – Rheme in the clause and Given – New/focus in the intonation unit. We can bring out the distinct functionality of these layers by considering the most prominent element in each of them, Theme and information focus (Matthiessen 1992). According to Halliday (1967, 1970), the Theme, which he associates with first position in English, "realizes a structural function which relates to 'speaker-now' – which is 'deictic' in the extended sense. … The function of theme can be regarded as the deictic element in the structure of the clause, in that it defines the speaker's angle on the content" (Halliday 1970, 357). By contrast, the information focus, marked by the main change of pitch on the tonic syllable, indicates the most salient new of the information unit, the "point" of the information unit (Halliday 1967, 204).

Halliday also stresses that there is no intrinsic link between the focal information in the tone group and newly introduced referents: "What is focal is 'new' information; not in the sense that it cannot have been previously mentioned, although it is often the case that it has not been, but in the sense that the speaker presents it as not being recoverable from the preceding discourse. The focal information may be a feature of mood, not of cognitive content, as when the speaker confirms an asserted proposition" (1967, 204) or it may indicate "a contrast with what has been said before or what might be expected" (1967, 205, 206).

The contributors to this issue by and large subscribe to this separation of levels. At the same time, they show a great interest in studying the *interaction* between the three levels which are generally viewed as the main resources for managing the flow of information: (1) Theme-Rheme organization of the clause, (2) non-focal and focal information marked by intonation in the tone group, (3) the 'given' or 'new' status of elements in discourse. The first two are part of what Reinhart (1981) referred to as the 'relational' information structure, i.e., the marking of relations between the elements of an

utterance's propositional content. The third level is concerned with Reinhart's 'referential' information structure. In choosing a referring expression, the speaker makes assumptions about the hearer's knowledge state regarding the designatum[7]. At least two distinct systems have been distinguished in the literature that mark different types of contrasts: identifiability and discourse-familiarity. Both are often and sometimes confusingly said to deal with the 'given' or 'new' status of referents. We briefly discuss these two systems and the different analytical contrasts involved with reference to the authors followed by the contributors to this issue.

The system of *identifiability* is concerned with marking whether nominal referents are non-identifiable or are presumed identifiable for the hearer. In English, this distinction is to a large extent marked by the choice between indefinite and definite NPs (Halliday and Hasan 1976; Martin 1992; Davidse 2004). At the same time, motivated special cases have to be taken into account such as the possibility to introduce an important discourse referent by a NP with demonstrative *this* in spoken discourse, as in (5).

> (5) Well, the . . . the children are moving out into the country into a big house; . . . and they're playing -and-seek when Lucy goes in, . . . no, they're not playing hide-and-seek, they're looking round the house, and Lucy goes in . . . they all go into *this room* and it's empty except for an old wardrobe. (Ure n. d.)

Martin (1992) has also developed a taxonomy of the various 'phoricity' types that can motivate identifiability, i.e., the locations where the hearer should look to retrieve the identity of the referent. For instance, exophoric NPs direct the hearer to look at the extralinguistic context, while anaphoric NPs require the hearer to retrieve the identity of the referent from the preceding text. NPs related by anaphora form reference chains that 'track' the discourse referents, or the 'discourse participants' in Martin's terms, through the discourse.

For the analysis of the *discourse-familiarity* of referents, we refer to Kaltenböck's (2005) and Gentens (2016, 20–21) adaptation of Prince's (1992) well-known taxonomy. As noted by Kaltenböck (2005), Prince's original taxonomy invoked mixed criteria: actual givenness in the discourse and speaker assumptions about hearer knowledge. Kaltenböck reinterprets Prince's mixed model into a model of 'discourse familiarity', focused on textual and situational retrievability. As it happens, Kaltenböck and Gentens developed their taxonomy specifically for the discourse-familiarity of clausal referents, i.e., states of affairs, but the proposed distinctions can also be applied to the entities referred to by NPs. Kaltenböck's taxonomy of discourse-familiarity is visualized in Figure 1.

[7]The speaker may also manipulate these referential resources for rhetorical purposes, for instance by marking a referent being introduced in the discourse as presumed known by the hearer.

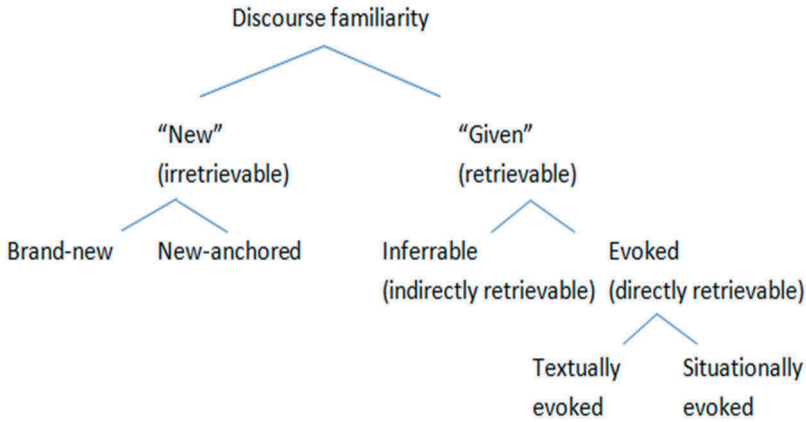

Figure 1. Kaltenböck's (2005) taxonomy of discourse-familiarity.

The five types of discourse-givenness can briefly be characterized as follows:

(i) situationally evoked: the entity or state-of-affairs is given in the situation;
(ii) textually evoked: the entity or state-of-affairs is given explicitly in the preceding text;
(iii) inferrable: the preceding text contains a trigger for an inferential relationship such as logical entailment that allows one to infer the entity or state-of-affairs;
(iv) anchored-new: the entity or state-of-affairs is newly introduced into the discourse, but contains some link to the previous context without which it would be uninterpretable;
(v) brandnew: the entity or state-of-affairs is totally new to the discourse.

3. The contributions

We are now finally in a position to summarize the contributions and indicate on which levels of information structure they focus and on what interactions with both other textual and ideational or interpersonal layers.

Bartlett and O'Grady's contribution "Language characterology and textual dynamics: a crosslinguistic exploration in English and Scottish Gaelic" investigates Theme and its interaction with information structure and referent tracking in the two languages studied. In pursuing the language-specific differences between the textual dynamics, or the 'textuality', of English and Scottish Gaelic, its interaction with the ideational and interpersonal layers is

explored. The textuality of English is characterized as participant-oriented and that of Gaelic as process-oriented. Basing themselves on a detailed analysis of the range of ways in which the distinct resources of each language combine to structure the flow of a narrative text, the authors arrive at the following conclusions. Both Gaelic and English clauses use the salient properties of clause-initial 'thematic' position to signal the 'point of departure' of the message (see Halliday's (1970) functional definition of Theme as giving the speaker's angle on the content, discussed in Section 2). However, Gaelic thematizes the Finite, i.e., the verbal element that is tied to the deictic centre, whereas English thematizes a specific participant. Moreover, in Gaelic clefts are used more frequently than in English. English overwhelmingly uses Theme to signal the continuation or switch of referent focus. Gaelic thematizes both fresh participants and attributes. This can be explained in terms of the more general characterology of each language. As a participant-oriented language with canonical Subject-initial structure, English maintains its focus on the participants through its tendency to conflate Subject with Theme and predicate with Rheme. Gaelic, on the other hand, as a process-oriented language with canonical Finite-initial structure, is more likely to thematize information from the predicate, including attributes. As in English, these are likely to receive tonic prominence to index their fresh status but, owing to their clause initial placement and Gaelic's strong constraints on tonic placement, a cleft may be employed to 'naturalize' the tonicity of the clause.

Davidse and Njende's study of English enumerative *there*-clauses and *there*-clefts develops a new account of these hitherto neglected constructions. In the literature, they have both tended to be reduced to purely information structurally motivated constructions. They have also been treated as separate phenomena. Enumerative *there*-clauses have been argued to be part of the unitary existential construction, whose main function is to present hearer-new information (Ward and Birner 1995). Enumerative *there*-clefts have mostly been viewed as focus-marking devices with semantically empty matrix (Lambrecht 2001). Against this, the authors argue that enumerative *there*-clauses and enumerative *there*-clefts are each other's closest 'agnates' (Gleason 1966; Halliday 1967), i.e., systematic structural variants. They do have representational, or ideational, meaning, and, at the same time, they have more varied information structural meanings than those that have been ascribed to them. At the ideational level, they are secondary specification constructions, which assert the existence of Values corresponding to the Variable. The variable is overtly coded in the cleft construction and implied in the reduced cleft. In this respect, enumerative *there*-clauses can be viewed as reduced *there*-clefts. On the textual level, enumerative *there*-clauses and enumerative *there*-clefts manifest different tendencies that can explain the choice for the one rather than the other. The quantified corpus study of enumerative *there*-clauses

and *there*-clefts in spontaneous conversation revealed that the former are much more frequent. That is, in actual usage, the mono-clausal variant is the unmarked option, and the bi-clausal variant the marked choice. The study of the discourse-familiarity (Kaltenböck 2005) of the Variable in the two constructions revealed that the implied Variable is typically textually evoked in the preceding discourse, whereas the overt Variable typically contains new-anchored information. Put simply, when speakers use existential enumerative constructions, the most common, unmarked option is to evoke the Variable clearly in the preceding text, and use the enumerative *there*-clause, or mono-clausal variant, as in (6).

(6) We had a committee with the men . . . which discussed the rate at which the men's colleges could er erm start *to open their doors*. This meant that they acted in a a decent and orderly manner <Mm.> and not rather violently as I rather believe they did in Oxford but erm er *there were as I said erm er King's and Churchill to begin with then Clare then er there was Sydney and Selwyn next and by my time er there were four other colleges including Trinity er which was of course very important and large and Trinity Hall* < Mm.> (WB BrSpoken)

The second most common option is to include a generalization in the preceding text, and use the enumerative *there*-cleft, or bi-clausal variant, which allows speakers to link the enumerated Values to more specific, new-anchored open propositions in the cleft relative clause, as in (7).

(7) There's six people *living at my house at the moment. . . . there's Jim and Sue have got the front room . . .* (WB BrSpoken)

O'Grady and Bartlett's contribution "Linearity and tone in the unfolding of information" sets out to formulate a new, integrated analysis of how speakers manage information flow in real time in English. Their analytical framework has been inspired by general ideas of communicative dynamism in that they insist on the dynamic, ongoing nature of the negotiation of communicative purpose and investigate how speakers manipulate linearity, grammar, prosody and context to achieve this purpose. However, in its concrete articulation, their framework is different from Firbas's analysis of thematic, transitional and rhematic elements in the sentence. O'Grady and Bartlett want to elucidate how speakers, with their moment by moment intonation choices, prosodically shape the unfolding lexicogrammatical string such that it realizes their communicative purpose. They unpack this analytical programme into a number of points.

For their starting point, they follow Brazil (1987, 1995), who posited that the basic unit of linear speech through which a speaker achieves a point of informational completion is a lexicogrammatical-intonational unit. This unit is the *increment* in the specific sense defined by Brazil and further developed by O'Grady (2010). Looking for the basic unit of a "linear grammar" of speech in use, which carries the discursive meanings conveyed by intonation Brazil

(1987, 1995) rejected the traditional grammatical unit of the *clause* and its alleged 'default' relation with one tone group (Halliday 1994, 274) (see Section 2 above). In its stead, Brazil proposed the increment, "the least stretch of speech which, given appropriate intonation and appropriate discourse conditions," (1987, 150) allows the speaker to achieve his or her current conversational purpose. According to Brazil (1995), the validity of increments depends on grammatical and prosodic criteria, while the adequacy of increments relies on contextual criteria. Grammatically, the speaker has to at least complete the grammatical chain entered into, and s/he also has to signal completion prosodically. Conversational adequacy is determined by the speaker's intended updating of the shared common ground with the hearer, i.e., telling all the elements relevant to the hearer's present informational needs. This may involve extending the increment beyond the boundaries of the grammatical criterion. In terms of grammatical structure, an increment may be anything from a simple NP-VP-(NP) structure, to a complex sentence containing relative clauses, complement clauses and adverbial clauses as well as parentheticals like *I think*, as in (8). Prosodically, increments are commonly uttered on several tone groups. Tone groups are those segments of the speech signal marked off as distinct intonation contours, whose main change in pitch (marked by \, /, \/, etc.) is realized on the tonic syllable (underlined). Optionally, the tone group may contain additional prominent syllables (also underlined in (8)) prior to the tonic. The tone group's boundaries are marked by '|'. According to Brazil (1995), the prosodic signalling of completion requires a falling or rising-falling tone, as on *bomb* in (8).

(8) | \um | and then we found like a World War two \bomb underneath it | (O'Grady and Bartlett 2019, 213)

Brazil's (1987, 1995) theory about the nature and functions of increments is then elaborated in a number of further points. With reference to O'Grady (2010), it is first pointed out that the speaker's updating of the common ground inextricably involves the speaker signalling their expectation of the hearer's attitudinal reaction to this update. The speaker does this by increment-initial choices of *key*, the relative intonation height of the first prominent syllable in the increment, and increment-final choices of *termination*, the pitch height of the final tonic syllable in the increment. Key projects the speaker's expectation of whether the hearer will receive the update as contrastive with, or additive to, the state of the common ground. Termination projects the speaker's expectation of whether the hearer will react to the completed update by adjudication or concurrence. The key and termination choices thus mark out the increment as the unit of the speaker's attitudinal projection with regard to the hearer's reception of and reaction to the update of the common ground.

Finally, the study questions Brazil's claim that the completion of telling increments has to be signalled by falling tone (fall or rise-fall) on the final

tonic. If Brazil's hypothesis were to be correct, then the final tonic in increments would signal textual meaning only, viz. the end of the increment as an informational unit. However, the authors' quantified study of their data base shows that while end-falling movement is the most frequently selected tone in both monologue (52.2%) and conversation (57.3%), it is so only narrowly. The authors then look for other motivations of the choice between end-falling and end-rising tone. They formulate the hypothesis that interactional meanings are conveyed, viz. the contrast between communicating propositional content known by the speaker only (Labov's (1972) A-event) or known by both speaker and hearer (Labov's (1972) B-event). This contrast is further correlated with the actual discourse-givenness of the increment-final tonic and with the choice between signalling whether or not a response to the increment is expected of the hearer. The quantified results generally support the authors' idea that end-falling versus end-rising tone does convey these interactional meanings – besides the textual meanings. The study thus falsifies earlier overly simplistic interpretations of the prosody of tone groups and sequences of tone groups and clears the ground for further study of the multifunctional load carried by prosodic choices. The authors conclude that speakers manage information flow by moment-by-moment balancing of textual, interpersonal and ideational choices.

The last paper in this thematic issue is Van Praet's study "Focus Assignment in English Specificational and Predicative Clauses: Intonation as a Cue to Information Structure?". On the ideational level, specificational clauses involve the specification of a value for a variable, while in predicative clauses a description is predicated of a describee. In the literature, these two types of copular clauses have been ascribed typical information structures with characteristic information foci. In specificational clauses, the most salient, focal information is assumed to be the value (e.g., Patten 2012); in predicative clauses, the focus of the message is typically the description given by the predicate nominative (e.g., Declerck 1988). This paper investigates this assumption by looking at the prosodic realisation of 600 specificational clauses in which the variable function is mapped on to the subject and 600 predicative clauses with predicative NP complements. Study of the utterances' tonality, tonicity, relative pitch and intensity revealed that the two copular types cannot be contrasted in terms of a mere background-focus dichotomy. While predicative clauses tend to evince the expected prominence pattern with the focus on the description, as in (9), specificational clauses with variable/subject most commonly give prominence to their two participants, which entails that they are typically uttered on more than one tone unit (Van Praet and O'Grady 2018), as in (10).

(9) she must have been such a pain in the N\ECK//(LLC)

(10) TW\/O of them//had to keep a hundred and eighty children aM\USED for the /AFternoon//so they thought *the* B\/*EST thing to do//was to run this* F*ILM*//(LLC)

The author explains this in terms of the different degrees of communicative dynamism of the variable vs. describee and of the elements of specificational and predicative clause types in general. In predicative copular clauses, a high CD predicate, or description, comments on the topical and informationally backgrounded subject with low CD, as illustrated in (9). In specificational clauses both the variable/subject and the value have high CD. The variable/subject establishes a contextually relevant matter of concern to which the value complement provides resolution. As some argue (e.g., Schlenker 2003), the variable functions much like an implied *wh*-question, in that it implies the existence of a new discourse-referent without however revealing its specific identity. If the question of current concern (Lambrecht 2001, 475), i.e., the variable, has already been explicitly evoked in the prior context, the information it gives is recoverable and it has low(er) CD. As such, the value's high CD, providing the 'resolution', stands out as the focus of information in contrast with the variable's low CD. In the more common case, however, the variable has not yet been evoked and needs to be inferred or introduced as new information: if so, both the 'concern' and its 'resolution' have high CD, and both are informationally salient.

This collection of papers, rooted in an eclectic functionalism with a particular debt to the Prague School, illustrates some of the ways in which Communicative Dynamism is being taken further and inspiring current research. In some of these papers, the focus is more on thematicity, investigated in correlation with referent tracking (Bartlett and O'Grady). Other studies are concerned mainly with prosodically marked information focus and discourse-newness or -givenness, and larger sequences of intonation/information units (Davidse and Njende, O'Grady and Bartlett, Van Praet). The studies also explore how textual organization maps onto other layers of organization, either the ideational (Bartlett and O'Grady, Davidse and Njende, Van Praet) or the interpersonal (O'Grady and Bartlett). It seems fitting to end with a thought on the importance of the Prague School notion of language characterology. According to Halliday (1974, 44), it can be assumed that "FSP is a universal phenomenon", but that in individual languages "there is significant variation as regards the choices available … as well as in where and how these choices are made" in accordance with linguistic characterology. It is fitting, then, that the contribution by Bartlett and O'Grady on Theme in English and Scottish Gaelic gives this notion its due place. All studies try to do more justice to the dynamicity and complexity of information structural patterning. Between them, the contributions invite further debate and want to stimulate further research into this core area of human communication.

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